

## Message Text

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ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-08 SS-15 NSC-05 SP-02 SSO-00 NSCE-00

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O 300500Z APR 76

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 9 SECTO 11193

DEPT FOR S/PRS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: SECRETARY'S REMARKS IN MONROVIA

1. FOLLOWING IS THE FINAL TEXT OF THE SECRETARY'S EXTENDED AFTER DINNER REMARKS AS PXREPARED FOR DELIVERY IN MONROVIA ON FRIDAY APR 30 AT 9:00 P. M LOCAL TIME.

2. THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD IMMEDIATELY TRANSLATE THIS TEXT INFO FRENCH AND ASSURE DISTRIBUTION IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH TO ALL AFRICAN POSTS AS APPROPRIATE. TEXT SHOULD BE HANDED OVER BY THE AMBASSADOR UPON RECEIPT, PREFERABLY TO THE CHIEF OF STATE.

3. ALL OTHER DIPLOMATIC POSTS SHOULD RECEIVE THE TEXT ROUTINELY BY WIRELESS FILE.

4. THERE SHOULD BE NO SPECIFIC BRIEFINGS OF THE PRESS OR CONGRESS OR EMBASSIES SINCE THIS IS ESSENTIALLY AN EXTENSIVE TOAST, NOT A MAJOR SPEECH.

5. TEXT MAY BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS WHEN READY, BUT SHOULD BE EMBARGOED FOR PUBLICATION UNTIL TIME OF DELIVERY 9:00 P.M. MONROVIA TIME, APRIL 30.

BEGIN TEXT:

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REMARKS BY  
THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER  
SECRETARY OF STATE  
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICAN  
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

AMERICAN AND AFRICA

AMERICAN AND AFRICA

MONROVIA APRIL 30, 1976

MIDWAY THROUGH MY AFRICAN VISIT, I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME  
OF WHAT I HAVE LEARNED, AND THE CONVICTIONS WE BRING TO THE RELATION-  
SHIP BETWEEN AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES.

PRESIDENT FORD HAS SENT ME TO THIS CONTINENT TO WITNESS FIRST-  
HAND THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA FOR NATIONAL DIGNITY,  
RACIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC ADVANCE. I BRING FRIENDSHIP AND THE  
STRONG CONVICTION THAT THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA HAVE MUCH TO  
TO DO TOGETHER IN BUILDING PEACE AND PROGRESS IN THE WORLD.

I AM GREATLY ENCOURAGED BY MY DISCUSSIONS WITH AFRICAN LEADERS.  
I BELIEVE THAT MY JOURNEY IS LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF A NEW  
AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD THIS CONTINENT. WE WILL NOT BE DEFLECTED  
BY ATTEMPTS TO INTERFERE WITH WHAT IS BEING ACHIEVED. THE PROMISE  
OF THIS EFFORT IS TOO IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO  
AFRICA.

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THE CHALLENGES AHEAD OF US ARE ARDUOUS AND LONG. THEY WILL  
REQUIRE A MUTUAL EFFORT OF UNDERSTANDING TO OVERCOME THE LEGACIES  
OF THE PAST. WE ARE PREPARED TO MAKE THIS EFFORT TO BRING INTO  
BEING TOGETHER WITH YOU, THE DREAMS OF OUR NATIONS FOR A BETTER

AND MORE SECURE LIFE.

AMERICA'S OWN MORAL VALUES SUMMON US TO THIS POLICY. TWO  
HUNDRED YEARS AGO THE UNITED STATES WON ITS INDEPENDENCE.

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HAVING THROWN OFF THE BURDENS OF COLONIALISM, AMERICANS DETER-  
MINED NEVER TO FALL UNDER THE YOKE OF DESPOTISM AGAIN. IN THATWE  
HAVE SUCEEDED. MORE RECENTLY WE HAVE RESOLVED TO BUILD FOR PEACE,  
EQUALITY AND PROGRESS IN THE WORLD.

IT IS FITTING THAT I SPEAK OF THESE VALUES AND CONCERNS HERE  
IN THIS CITY NAMED FOR PRESIDENT JAMES MONROE, WHO CONSOLIDATED  
AMERICA'S INDEPENDENCE, AND HERE IN LIBERIA WHOSE PEOPLE PROUDLY  
PROCLAIM, "THE LOVE OF LIBERTY BROUGHT US HERE." THOUGH SEPARATED  
BY AN OCEAN, THE TIDES OF HISTORY AGAIN DRAW US TOGETHER.  
AMERICAN AND LIBERIANS REMAIN WHAT OUR ANCESTORS WERE-- PROUD

AND FREE PEOPLES.

FOR ALMOST A CENTURY AND A HALF SINCE COMMODORE PERRY'S

SHIP BROUGHT THE FIRST PIONEERS OF FREEDOM TO THESE SHORES THE  
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AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE ENJOYED A RELATIONSHIP WITH LIBERIANS

UNIQUE IN OUR ASSOCIATION WITH AFRICA. THOSE WHO LEFT AMERICA TO  
FOUND LIBERIA DID SO TO IMPLEMENT A PRINCIPLE VITAL TO OUR NATIONS  
TODAY, THE LOVE OF LIBERTY.

THE UNITED STATES FOR DECADES HAS BEEN PROUD TO COOPERATE IN  
THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF LIBERIA.  
WE ARE COMMITTED TO CONTINUE TO DO SO.

THUS OUR NATIONS ARE BOUND BY HISTORY, BY SHARED VALUES, AND  
BY A COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT TWO NATIONS CAN WORK  
TOGETHER CLOSELY WITH MUTUAL RESPECT FOR THE IMPERATIVES OF  
SOVEREIGNTY AND NATIONAL DIGNITY.

THESE PRINCIPLES HAVE IMPELLED THE UNITED STATES TO PLAY A  
VIGOROUS AND POSSIBLY DECISIVE ROLE IN PROMOTING THE PROCESS OF  
DECOLONIZATION. WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY DEFENDED THE BASIC MORAL  
IMPERATIVES OF RACIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS. WE LAUNCHED THE  
GREAT INTERNATIONAL EFFORT OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FOR NEW  
NATIONS; WE TOOK THE LEAD IN BUILDING THE MULTILATERAL INSTITU-  
TIONS OF COOPERATION THAT HOLD SO MUCH PROMISE FOR SUPPORTING  
AFRICAN EFFORTS. WE HAVE DONE SO IN MANY INTERNATIONAL  
FORUMS AND WILL CONTINUE THIS EFFORT IN THE UNITED NATIONS  
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CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT IN A FEW DAYS TIME.

TODAY, THESE SAME ISSUES DEMAND OUR ATTENTION. WE HAVE TO  
DEAL BOTH WITH IMMEDIATE CHALLENGES AND LONG-RANGE NEEDS. IT  
IS TIME FOR THE NATIONS OF AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES TO COMMIT  
THEMSELVES TO ADVANCING OUR COMMON GOALS: SELF-DETERMINATION,  
RACIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS. APART, OR IN CONTENTION,  
WE WILL DISSIPATE OUR EFFORTS. TOGETHER WE CAN BE TRUE TO OUR

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VALUES AND THE ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLES.

AFRICA'S GREATNESS AND AMERICA'S POLICY

THE STRENGTHENING OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND  
AFRICA WILL HENCE FORTH BE A KEY ELEMENT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. A

STABLE, JUST AND PROSPEROUS INTERNATIONAL ORDER CAN BE CONSTRUCTED  
ONLY THROUGH THE COOPERATION OF THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL NATION  
AND THE NATIONS OF THE GREAT AFRICAN CONTINENT.

THE VISITOR TO AFRICA IS AWED BY ITS IMMENSITY; BY THE  
SWEEP OF ITS GREAT PLAINS; BY THE MAGNIFICENCE OF ITS GREAT RIVERS;  
AND BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT HERE IS WHERE MAN HAD HIS ORIGINS. THE  
COLONIAL STEREOTYPE OF BLACK AFRICA IS A PLACE DEVOID OF HISTORY IS  
DISPELLED BY AN AWARENESS THAT MODERN AFRICA IS BUILDING ON  
THE RICH TRADITIONS OF ANCIENT AFRICAN STATES: OF GHANA, MALI,  
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KANEM-BORNU, SONGHAY, BENIN, THE ZIMBABWE CULTURE, ETHIOPIA  
AND OTHERS. BEFORE AND DURING THE COLONIAL ERA, MOST OF THE REST  
OF THE WORLD WAS UNAWARE OF THE TRUE NATURE OF AFRICA, WHICH TO  
OUTSIDERS REMAINED A LAND OF MYSTERY WELL INTO THE TWENTIETH  
CENTURY. BUT AS WAS SO DRAMATICALLY MADE CLEAR WITHIN FIFTEEN  
YEARS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, AFRICA'S COLONIAL PERIOD WAS ONLY  
A BRIEF EPISODE IN THE ONWARD MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLES OF THIS  
CONTINENT.

IN 1880, THE EMINENT LIBERIAN EDUCATOR EDWARD BLYDEN  
SAID: "AFRICA IS NO VAST ISLAND SEPARATED BY AN IMMENSE OCEAN  
FROM OTHER PORTIONS OF THE GLOBE, AND CUT OFF  
THROUGHOUT THE AGES FROM THE MEN WHO HAVE MADE AND INFLUENCED  
THE DESTINIES OF MANKIND. SHE HAS BEEN CLOSELY CONNECTED,  
BOTH AS SOURCE AND NOURISHER, WITH SOME OF THE MOST POTENT IN-  
FLUENCES WHICH HAVE AFFECTED FOR GOOD THE HISTORY OF THE  
WORLD."

BLYDEN'S PERCEPTIVE OBSERVATION APPLIES TODAY EVEN MORE THAN IT  
DID A CENTURY AGO. AT NO TIME IN HISTORY HAVE WE BEEN MORE AWARE  
OF THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF ALL NATIONS. AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES  
ARE LINKED BY REAL INTERESTS AND COMMON CONCERNS.

POLITICALLY, WE SHARE A DEDICATION TO PEACE, NATIONAL DIGNITY  
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AND RACIAL JUSTICE.

AMERICA'S HISTORIC IDENTIFICATION WITH AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS IS  
DEEPLY ROOTED IN THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF TWENTY-THREE MILLION  
BLACK AMERICANS--AND IN THE MORAL SYMPATHY OF 200 MILLION AMERICANS.

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THE ASSERTION OF BLACK NATIONHOOD IN AFRICA HAS COINCIDED WITH A

NEW AFFIRMATION OF EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE IN THE UNITED STATES. THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE REINFORCED EACH OTHER AND HAVE ADDED A PROFOUND MORAL STRENGTH TO THE BONDS BETWEEN US.

ECONOMICALLY, WE EACH HAVE A STAKE IN EACH OTHER'S SUCCESS AND DEVELOPMENT, FOR OUR INTERDEPENDENCE CAN BE A VEHICLE FOR COMMON PROGRESS. OUR MUTUAL TRADE IS GROWING RAPIDLY; YOUR EXPORTS ARE REACHING THE AMERICAN MARKET AT A RATE APPROACHING SOME SIX BILLION DOLLARS ANNUALLY. AFRICA'S IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES AS A PRODUCER OF ENERGY AND COMMODITIES IS OBVIOUS. AND AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN BLACK AFRICA SINCE ITS NEW ERA OF INDEPENDENCE HAS MORE THAN QUADRUPLLED, TO OVER ONE AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS.

WE ARE BOTH AWARE THAT THE PROSPERITY OF OUR PEOPLES CANNOT BE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SUSTAINED UNLESS THE GLOBAL ECONOMY IS EQUITABLE, EFFICIENT AND EXPANDING.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND OF COMMON INTERESTS, LET ME TAKE UP WITH YOU NOW SOME OF THE PRINCIPLES OF UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD AFRICA.

FIRST, THE UNITED STATES UNAMBIGUOUSLY SUPPORTS AFRICA'S STRUGGLE TO PERFECT ITS INDEPENDENCE. AFRICA DID NOT FIGHT ITS LONG BATTLE FOR LIBERATION FROM COLONIAL RULE ONLY TO SURRENDER IT AGAIN TO EXTERNAL DOMINATION THAT MAY TAKE DECADES MORE TO OVERCOME. THE UNITED STATES SEEKS NO BLOC TO FOLLOW OUR LEAD, NOR PARAMOUNT INFLUENCE IN THIS CONTINENT. WE BELIEVE THAT NO OTHER COUNTRY SHOULD DO SO. AFRICANS MUST DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY.



THE NEW AFRICA MUST BE FREE OF GREAT POWER RIVALRY.

AFRICAN UNITY IS THEREFORE ESSENTIAL. THOSE WHO WOULD DIVIDE  
AFRICA--EITHER BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS OR BETWEEN FACTIONS--WOULD  
DIMINISH ITS PROMISE, DISSIPATE ITS ENERGIES IN CONTENTION, AND OPEN  
THE WAY FOR THE RETURN OF EXTERNAL INTERVENTION. THE END RESULT  
IS BOUND TO BE DOMINATED BY ONE OUTSIDE POWER OR DIVISION OF  
THE CONTINENT INTO COMPETING BLOCS. IT IS DEEPLY IN OUR COMMON  
INTEREST THAT NEITHER TAKE PLACE. THE UNITED STATES CALLS ON ALL

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NATIONS TO AFFIRM THE PRINCIPLE OF AFRICAN UNITY. IT WILL NOT

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IMPORT GREAT POWER CONFLICT INTO AFRICA. IT WILL OPPOSE THOSE WHO

SEEK TO DO SO.

SECOND, THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ALL INDEPENDENT AFRICAN NATIONS. WE, AS ANY COUNTRY, HAVE OUR PREFERENCES AMONG POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS. BUT WE ARE PREPARED FOR COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WITH ANY GOVERNMENT OF AFRICA WHICH REPRESENTS AFRICAN PRINCIPLES AND ASPIRATIONS. OUR CONCERN ARISES ONLY WHEN AN AFRICAN MOVEMENT IS EXPLOITED BY OUTSIDE POWERS FOR THEIR OWN ENDS.

IN THIS CONTEXT, LET ME MENTION ANGOLA. THE UNITED STATES HOLDS NO ENMITY TOWARD ANY AFRICAN FACTION OR GOVERNMENT. THEIR IDEOLOGY OR SOCIAL SYSTEM IS NOT PARAMOUNT CONCERN TO US; IT IS FOR EACH COUNTRY TO CHOOSE FOR ITSELF. WE DID NOT OPPOSE THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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COMING TO POWER OF FRELIMO, A MARXIST MOVEMENT, IN MOZAMBIQUE BECAUSE WE CONSIDERED IT AN ESSENTIALLY INDIGENOUS EVOLUTION. WE RECOGNIZED THE GOVERNMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE IMMEDIATELY UPON INDEPENDENCE, AND WE BRING NO SENSE OF ACRIMONY TO OUR BILATERAL DEALINGS.

IN THE CASE OF ANGOLA, THE UNITED STATES ACCEPTED ALL THREE ANGOLAN NATIONALIST GROUPS AS LEGITIMATE AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. WE REGRET THAT THEY WERE UNABLE TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES PEACEFULLY AND WITHOUT OUTSIDE MILITARY INTERVENTION. WE COULD WORK WITH THE MPLA IN ANGOLA IN THE SAME SPIRIT AS WITH FRELIMO IN MOZAMBIQUE. WHAT CONCERNS US IS THE PRESENCE IN ANGOLA OF LARGE FOREIGN FORCES FROM OUTSIDE THE CONTINENT. THIS IS BOUND

TO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT THAT GOVERNMENT'S ACCEPTANCE OF NON-  
ALIGNMENT AND THE PRINCIPLE OF AFRICAN SELF-DETERMINATION.

WHAT CAN BE THE PRUPOSE OF 15,000 TROOPS OF AN EXTERNAL EXPEDI-  
TIONARY FORCE NOW THAT ALL OTHER FOREIGN FORCES HAVE WITHDRAWN  
FROM ANGOLA? HOW CAN A GOVERNMENT BE CONSIDERED AFRICAN IF  
IT HAS STATIONED ON ITS SOIL A LARGE FORCE FROM CUBA.

THE UNITED STATES HAS NO INTEREST IN SEEING ANGOLA REMAIN A  
FOCUS OF CONTENTION. WE HAVE NO QUARREL WITH THAT COUNTRY. WE CAN  
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DEAL WITH IT IN A COOPERATIVE SPIRIT. WE ARE WILLING IN PRINCIPLE  
TO OPEN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ANGOLAN AUTHORITIES WITH A VIEW  
TOWARD NORMALIZING OUR RELATIONS AND SEEKING MEANS OF COOPERATING --  
INCLUDING ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. WE WISH ANGOLA WELL AS A UNIFIED  
AND INEPENDENT STATE. BUT BEFORE WE CAN GO FAR DOWN THAT ROAD,  
WE WANT TO KNOW ANGOLA'S INTENTION WITH RESPECT TO THE  
PRESENCE OF FOREIGN FORCES ON ITS SOIL.

THIRD, THE UNITED STATES PLEDGES ITSELF UNAMBIGUOUSLY ON THE  
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SIDE OF MAJORITY RULE, RACIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DIGNITY IN SOUTHERN

AFRICA. A FEW DAYS AGO, IN LUSAKA, ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT FORD,

I ANNOUNCED A NEW AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO THESE GOALS. AS PART OF AN

INTERNATIONAL EFFORT, I PUT FORWARD A CONCRETE TEN-POINT PROGRAM.

IN CARRYING OUT THIS PROGRAM, WE SHALL WORK CLOSELY WITH THE

PRESIDENTS OF BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA-- AND WITH

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. WE HAVE ALSO CALLED ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN

GOVERNMENT TO DEMONSTRATE ITS COMMITMENT TO AFRICAN PURPOSES BY

WORKING WITH US IN BRINGING MAJORITY RULE TO RHODESIA.

FOURTH, THE UNITED STATES WILL HELP AFRICAN NATIONS DEVELOP

AND STRENGTHEN THEIR ECONOMIES. AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT GOALS ARE

WIDENING OPPORTUNITY, SOCIAL PROGRES, SELF-RELIANCE. THE AMERICAN

PEOPLE HAVE ALWAYS VIEWED THESE GOALS WITH THE GREATEST SYMPATHY.

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WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED OUR SUPPORT IN BILATERAL PROGRAMS AND IN OUR

EFFORTS TO BUILD A NEW ERA OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN

THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS.

LET ME DISCUSS IN FURTHER DETAIL OUR APPROACH TO THE CRUCIAL

ECONOMIC CHALLENGE -- A CHALLENGE WHICH WILL REMAIN WITH US FOR

TH LONG TERM.

THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION

AFRICA HAS BROKEN THE SHACKLES OF THE PAST AND IS DETERMINED TO  
REMAIN FREE. AFRICA IS DEEPLY ENGAGED IN THE STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE  
RACIAL JUSTICE. BUT THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAST MUST BE  
CONSOLIDATED BY THE BUILDING OF A PROSPEROUS TOMORROW WHICH RAISES  
THE STANDARD OF LIVING AND THE HORIZONS OF LIFE FOR ALL THE  
CONTINENT'S PEOPLES.

THE TASK AHEAD IS FORMIDABLE -- IN SOME PARTS OF AFRICA,  
STAGGERING. BUT AFRICA BRINGS TO THE TASK GREAT RESOURCES,  
VAST POTENTIAL AND THE PROSPECT THAT IN THE FUTURE AFRICAN  
ENERGIES WILL BE FREER TO CONCENTRATE ON POSITIVE GOALS.

OUR POLICY TOWARD AFRICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS GUIDED BY  
THESE PRINCIPLES:

-- FIRST, AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT MUST REST ON A FOUNDATION OF  
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ECONOMIC SECURITY. NO NATION CAN PLAN ITS FUTURE EFFECTIVELY OR  
MOBILIZE ITS EFFORT IF ITS INCOME IS BUFFETED CONTINUALLY BY  
EXTERNAL ECONOMIC FORCES OVER WHICH IT HAS LITTLE OR NO INFLUENCE.  
THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE IN AFRICA, WHERE THE EXPORT EARNINGS OF  
MANY NATIONAL ECONOMIES DEPEND UPON GLOBAL MARKET CONDITIONS FOR  
A SINGLE COMMODITY AND WHERE HIGHER ENERGY PRICES OR INFLATION  
ABROAD CAN RAISE THE PRICE OF IMPORTS TO PROHIBITIVE LEVELS.  
-- SECOND, AFRICA MUST HAVE AN EQUITABLE VOICE AND ROLE IN  
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS AND IN THE NEGOTIATIONS

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THAT SHAPE THE GOLBAL ECONOMY. ALL NATIONS MUST HAVE A STAKE IN THE

GLOBAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM IF THEY ARE TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITIES

FOR ITS ORDERLY EVOLUTION. THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY BELIEVES

THAT THE WORLD ECONOMY CANNOT BE THE EXCLUSIVE PRESERVE OF THE

RICHER NATIONS. AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD DEMANDS A NEW ERA OF ECONOMIC

COOPERATION.

-- THIRD, THE WORLD COMMUNITY MUST DEVOTE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO

THE PLIGHT OF THE WORLD'S POOREST NATIONS --MANY OF WHICH ARE

IN AFRICA. IN MANY COUNTRIES THE ECONOMIC ISSUE IS SIMPLE

HUMAN SURVIVAL. AND IT IS THOSE VERY COUNTRIES THAT HAVE BEEN MOST

DEVESTATED BY THE MASSIVE AND ABRUPT RISE IN OIL PRICES. THIS

HAS MADE IT DIFFICULT, EVEN IMPOSSIBLE, TO OBTAIN MODERN FERTILIZERS

FOR EXPANDING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, AND TO AFFORD SUFFICIENT

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FUEL FOR MECHANIZATION. SPECIAL ACCOUNT MUST BE TAKEN OF THE NEEDS  
OF THE POOREST.

LAST SEPTEMBER AT THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE UNITED STATES  
PRESENTED A COMPREHENSIVE SERIES OF PROPOSALS FOR THE WORLD COMM-  
UNITY TO RESPOND TO THE NEEDS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ON A COOPER-  
ATIVE BASIS. MANY OF THESE PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED AND  
OTHERS ARE MOVING AHEAD. THESE MEASURES WILL HAVE A DIRECT IMPACT  
ON AFRICA. SPECIFICALLY:

FIRST, TO ENSURE ECONOMIC SECURITY, AFRICA CAN LOOK FORWARD  
TO MORE STABLE EXPORT EARNINGS AS A RESULT OF OUR PROPOSAL  
TO ENLARGE THE COMPENSATORY FINANCE FACILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
MONETARY FUND, TO WHICH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WILL NOW HAVE  
GREATER ACCESS. TO STABILIZE MARKET CONDITIONS FOR KEY RAW  
MATERIALS, THE UNITED STATES HAS SIGNED AND SUBMITTED FOR CONGRE-  
SSIONAL APPROVAL INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY AGREEMENTS ON TIN AND  
COFFEE. WE STAND READY TO DISCUSS  
OTHERS. AND WE HAVE PROPOSED PRODUCER-CONSUMER FORUMS TO  
DISCUSS MEASURES TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS FOR ALL KEY COMMODITIES.

SECOND, TO ENHANCE AFRICA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC

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SYSTEM, WE HAVE REDUCED THE BARRIERS TO AFRICAN EXPORTS INTO THE

UNITED STATES MARKET BY INSTITUTING A GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF TARIFF  
PREFERENCES FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. WE HAVE TABLED OFFERS TO  
REDUCE TARIFFS FOR TROPICAL PRODUCTS WHICH ARE OF SPECIAL  
INTEREST TO AFRICA AND WE ARE PREPARED TO PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO  
THE INTERESTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE MULTILATERAL  
TRADE NEGOTIATIONS NOW UNDERWAY IN GENEVA. TO FOSTER INDUSTRIAL-  
IZATION, WE INTEND TO MAKE AN INITIAL CONTRIBUTION OF \$15 MILLION  
TO THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FUND; AND WE WILL BE WORKING WITH  
OTHERS TO SET UP AN INTERNATIONAL ENERGY INSTITUTE TO HELP  
DEVELOPING NATIONS DEVISE EFFECTIVE ENERGY PROGRAMS OF THEIR  
OWN.

THIRD, TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC JUSTICE, AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT  
ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS EMPHASIZE THE POOREST COUNTRIES AND THE

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RURAL POOR. WE PLAN TO CONTRIBUTE \$200 MILLION TO THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. WE WILL PROVIDE 60 PERCENT OF THE 10 MILLION TON FOOD AID TARGET ESTABLISHED BY THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE. IN ADDITION, THE IMF HAS APPROVED OUR PORPOSAL FOR A TRUST FUND FOR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS ASSISTANCE FOR POOR COUNTRIES.

THE RECORD IS PROMISING. BUT THE NEEDS OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD ARE ENORMOUS, AND MUCH WORK REMAINS BEFORE US:

-- WE NEED TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEM OF THE CRUSHING INTERNATIONAL DEBT BURDEN WHICH MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES SUFFER AS A RESULT OF HIGH OIL PRICES AND DRASTIC SWINGS IN GLOBAL COMMODITY MARKETS.

-- WE NEED SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENTS TO FOSTER THE INVESTMENT NECESSARY FOR AFRICA'S GROWTH -- ARRANGEMENTS THAT BOTH RESPECT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND ASSURE PREDICTABILITY AND FAIR TREATMENT FOR FOREIGN INVESTORS.

-- WE MUST STIMULATE THE FLOW OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY TO AFRICA, TO PROMOTE GROWTH AND DIVERSIFY NATIONAL ECONOMIES.

-- WE NEED TO MITIGATE THE DESTRUCTIVE EFFECTS OF FLUCTUATING PRICES FOR THE KEY RAW MATERIALS ON WHICH SO MANY AFRICAN ECONOMIES RELY.

-- WE MUST ENHANCETHE WORLD COMMUNITY'S CAPACITY TO RESPOND EFFECTIVELY TO NATURAL DISASTERS, LIKE THE SAHEL DROUGHT, WHICH CAN WREAK VAST TRAGEDY ON A SCALE OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE.

-- AND, WE NEED TO CONTINUE EFFECTIVE FOLLOW-UP TO THE WORLD

FOOD CONFERENCE, ESPECIALLY TO REALIZE AFRICA'S GREATPOTENTIAL  
FOR EXPANDED FOOD PRODUCTION.

IN A FEW DAYS, AT THE UNCTAD CONFERENCE IN NAIROBI, I WILL  
PRESENT A PACKAGE OF AMERICAN PROPOSALS WHICH WILL ADDRESS MANY  
OF THESE ISSUES. WE ARE DEDICATED TO CONTINUING THE COOPERATIVE  
SPIRIT WHICH WAS FORGED AT THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION. WE EXPECT  
OTHERS TO MEET US IN THIS SAME SPIRIT -- WITHOUT CONFRONTATION  
OR UNREALISTIC DEMANDS. IN THIS WAY THE MOMENTUM THAT HAS BEEN  
ACHIEVED IN RECENT MONTHS CAN BE MAINTAINED AND ACCELERATED.

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I HAVE SET FORTH, ON THE SOIL OF AFRICA, CONCRETE POLICIES OF THE  
UNITED STATES ON THE RANGE OF ASPIRATIONS THAT AFRICA AND WE  
SHARE -- POLITICAL, MORAL AND ECONOMIC. I SHALL ADVANCE OTHERS  
BEFORE I RETURN TO AMERICA.

OUR COOPERATION IS OFFERED FREELY IN OUR COMMON INTEREST. ON  
MY TRIP, I HAVE HEARD THE VOICES OF AFRICA, FORCEFULLY AND  
ELOQUENTLY EXPRESSED. THE UNITED STATES RESPECTS THOSE VOICES AND  
WILL RESPOND IN THE SPIRIT OF THE RESPONSIBLE AND POSITIVE RELATION-  
SHIP THAT WE SEEK. AFRICA'S PRIMARY CONCERN IS FOR NATIONAL DIGNITY  
AND DEVELOPMENT. THE UNITED STATES SHARES THESE GOALS BUT BEYOND  
THEM HAS AN OVERRIDING CONCERN FOR A JUST PEACE AND ECONOMIC  
PROGRESS IN THE WORLD. IF WE ARE TO WORK TOGETHER, WE MUST  
UNDERSTAND THAT OUR AIMS ARE CONGRUENT, AND ENCOURAGE EACH OTHER  
THROUGH MUTUAL RESPECT AND UNDERSTANDING. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE  
WILL RESPOND TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF FRIENDS; BUT THEY WILL

RESIST PRESSURE OR CONTINUAL RHETORICAL ATTACKS.

IF AFRICAN NATIONS DESCRIBE AMERICA AS INHERENTLY HOSTILE;

IF THE DIGNITY AND RESPECT WHICH SHOULD MARK THE DEALINGS BETWEEN

MATURE PEOPLES IS LACKING; IF NON-ALIGNMENT COMES TO BE DEFINED

AS AUTOMATICALLY OPPOSING ALL U.S. POLICIES, THERE CANNOT BE THE

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ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-08 SS-15 NSC-05 SP-02 SSO-00 NSCE-00

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NECESSARY STRONG PUBLIC SUPPORT IN AMERICA FOR A NEW AND MUTUALLY

BENEFICIAL ERA OF RELATIONS.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA WILL

ALWAYS AGREE. THERE WILL ALWAYS BE DIFFERENCES, EVEN AMONG THE

BEST OF FRIENDS. BUT WHEN WE DISAGREE, LET US DO SO WITHOUT RANCOR,

AND WITH AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING OUR

FRIENDSHIP. LET US ALWAYS CONSULT EARLY ON ISSUES WHICH COULD

DIVIDE US, TO ENSURE OUR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND TO REFLECT OUR

MUTUAL RESPECT. LET US MAKE OUR COMMON AIMS THE BASIS FOR  
PRACTICAL ACHIEVEMENT.

MY COUNTRY'S RESPONSIBILITY TO MAINTAIN THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF  
STABILITY IS CONSISTENT WITH, AND REINFORCES, THE ACHIEVEMENT OF  
AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE  
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CE AND AFRICAN UNITY; THE EXTERNAL INTERVENTION,  
WHICH IS OUR CONCERN, CAN ONLY DIMINISH AFRICAN SELF-DETERMINATION  
AND UNDERMINE THE INTEGRITY OF THE CONTINENT. SIMILARLY, AFRICA'S  
DRIVE FOR DEVELOPMENT ACCORDS WITH OUR OWN INTEREST IN A NEW ERA  
OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION; WE SEEK IN OUR OWN INTEREST TO  
PROMOTE THE INTERESTS OF ALL NATIONS -- PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS,  
DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING, LARGE AND SMALL.

AND SO, I WILL RETURN TO AMERICA TO CONVEY MY FRESH AND DEEP  
IMPRESSIONS OF THIS CONTINENT'S NEEDS AND THIS CONTINENT'S  
POTENTIAL AND WITH A HEIGHTENED SENSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF  
STRENGTHENED TIES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA.

WITH RESPECT FOR EACH OTHER'S IDEALS AND MOTIVES, WITH  
DETERMINATION TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME, WE CAN MAKE  
AFRICAN-AMERICAN COOPERATION A MODEL FOR COOPERATION AND PROGRESS  
IN THE WORLD.

IN THE DECADES TO COME, A GREAT DRAMA WILL PLAY ITSELF OUT  
ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. THE NEW AFRICA WILL TAKE ITS DESTINY  
FIRMLY INTO ITS OWN HANDS, AND WILL MAKE ITS FUNDAMENTAL  
CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

THE UNITED STATES IS READY TO JOIN

WITH YOU AS THIS HISTORICAL

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PROCESS UNFOLDS. THE STAKES ARE HIGH, THE TASK IS IMMENSE, BUT  
SUCCESS WILL COME IF WE SEEK IT TOGETHER IN THE SERVICE OF  
HUMANITY.

AS WE CONTEMPLATE OUR FUTURE ENDEAVORS WE CAN LOOK TO OUR  
RELATIONS WITH LIBERIA AS AN OUTSTANDING EXAMPLE OF COOPERATION.  
MY COUNTRY IS ESPECIALLY PLEASED TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH PRESIDENT  
TOLBERT -- A STATESMAN AND THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE MODERNIZA-  
TION AND INTEGRATION OF LIBERIAN SOCIETY.

TODAY IT HAS BEEN MY PRIVILEGE TO CONVEY TO PRESIDENT TOLBERT  
PRESIDENT FORD'S PERSONAL INVITATION TO MAKE A STATE VISIT DURING  
THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR. HIS VISIT WILL FURTHER UNDERLINE THE  
IMPORTANCE OF OUR RELATIONS WHICH HAVE SPECIAL HISTORIC MEANING  
FOR AMERICANS.

BUT THE TRUEST MEANING OF OUR BICENTENNIAL IS TO CELEBRATE NOT  
MERELY OUR PAST BUT OUR FUTURE. THE HIGHEST AIM OF FOREIGN POLICY  
MUST BE TO SHAPE THE COURSE OF HISTORY ACCORDING TO OUR HOPES  
AND MORAL ENDS. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND  
AFRICA CAN NOW ENTER ONE OF ITS MOST FRUITFUL AND SUCCESSFUL  
PERIODS. IT IS UP TO US, THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA AND AMERICA. THERE  
IS SO MUCH TO BE ACHIEVED.

IN THIS SPIRIT OF HOPE, I RAISE MY GLASS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,  
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AND OFFER A TOAST:

-- TO THE HEALTH OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT,

-- TO THE HISTORIC FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES

AND LIBERIA,

-- AND TO THE TRIUMPHS THAT LIE AHEAD OF US IN THE GREAT

COLABORATION BETWEEN AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES.

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## Message Attributes

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